## THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVERING TELEGRAPH.

#### Adjournment of Congress. From the Tribune.

The members of Congress are naturally anxious to find release from their legislative duties. They are weary of Washington-its heat, its mud, its dust, its odors-they would gladly exchange these for the greetings or the breeze of home. And, because they would gladly be at home, we urge upon them to hold on until they shall have acted decisively on all the business fairly before them. For now the prosers and the bores will not be endured: "general debate" is voted a nuisance and suppressed; and almost every day sees the business of the session palpably advanced towards consummation. We wish Congress were ready to adjourn to morrow; yet we protest against any adjournment till the work of the session is done. For do but consider that

The Tariff bill is not even reported. There is urgent need not only that the Tariff shall be thoroughly revised, but that we have a clean Tariff-not one that refers back to three or four out of six or eight others to fix its meaning-but one that says in and or itself what shall be the rate of duty on every article imported, and makes those rates, so far as possible, specific. We plead for a stiff tariff; but, high or low, let the rates of duty be all distinctly specified in the new sct, and let them be specific.

Then we should have decisive action on the currency. It ought to be rigorously contracted, so as to make money comparatively scarce, reduce the inflated prices now generally prevalent, enable our people to construct railroads, houses, etc., at reasonable rates, reduce our im-ports, and largely swell the volume of our exports. We are buying too much and selling too little, living too high and getting too deeply into debt, speculating too much and working too little; and the not distant end will be a grand crash if we do not promptly wear ship and take in saii. And Congress will make a great mistake it it adjourns without acting decisively in the premises. It ought to empower the Sec retary of the Treasury to bring the country back to specie payment by the 1st of January next. A national bankrupt law should be enacted.

At all events, we demand or its adversaries that they let us have a decisive vote.

Many more subjects urgently solicit action, and we trust will secure it. Three weeks will suffice for much important legislation, provided members are so generally auxious to get away that they will insist on short speeches and frequent votes. Let Hon, Members icel as home-sick as may be, so that they hold on and insist on finishing their work first and adjourning instantly thereafter.

#### Russia During a European War. From the Times.

The possible attitude of Russia in respect to the war which appears to have been inaugurated in Europe has been matter of comment, but there are considerations thereon which have not received much prominence as yet. For many years the efforts of Russia have been directed eastward rather than to the west. Her growing influence has been towards the east. and it has been an influence not without benefit to the advance of civilization. This advance has been by a process of absorption rather than that of conquest, and the tribes of semi-savages over whom her sway has been gradually extended are certainly benefited by that sway. The extensive regions of Central Asia are not the dominions of regular kings or peoples; they are indefinite in their habits and in their organinations. Their subsistence is gained often by plunder, and their progress has been but progress in all that is barbarous. Towards these issia has been the great civilizing power And ner attention is more directed to their development than towards schemes of aggran-

dizement in Europe. But England, it is said, views the advance of Russia towards the frontier of India with jealousy and even alarm. We judge that this jea-lousy has been modified considerably of late by a calm review of the propabilities of case. There are geographical difficulties in the way of an advance against India which would suffice to put to flight the most earnest fears for British supremacy in the East. And we find, indeed, that a portion of the English press vigorous in its demonstrations that so from Russia being a dangerous rival, she is fulfilling a destiny which comports with the most friendly relations with the conqueror of

England has declared that she will be neutral in the event of a German war. By taking sides in such she would gain no material advantage, and by abstaining from assisting either belli-gerent she could only lose prestige as a military power. But Russia could force her into war, perhaps, by another attempt to obtain control of the highway from Europe to the East. And this she will not do. The Germans and Italians may and will fight to attain their several objects, but for the present, at least, the course of Russia does not point in their direction. Nay, if Napoleon even sets an army in motion for the scene of conflict, the situation as regards Russia and England does not change. They have their own views and their own work, and can look on philosophically at the mutual slaughter among other nations.

This is, we think, the policy of Russia in the present crisis. The gathering together of the "Nationalities" of Central Asia, under the protection of a powerful and progressive empire, presents much that it is agreeable to contemplate. It is an enlightened policy as regards the progress of civilization and the advancement of the Russian nation. We, here, who found that, of all the European potentates, the most cordial sympathy towards us was telt by the Emperor Alexander, when the time of our great trouble unloosed the tongues of envious detrators, can certainly feel pleasure in noting the probability that in the desolation of Europe he s not likely to bear a part, and that while the process of that desolation is carried out, his course will be marked by the springing up of new prosperities and new enlightenment.

### Minority Report on Reconstruction. From the World.

The minority of the Committee on Beconstruc. struction, consisting of Reverdy Johnson, A. J. Rogers, and Henry Rider, have submitted a report dissenting from the reasoning and con, clusions of the majority. This report, exhaustive and very able, is understood to have been written by Mr. Johnson. It demolishes the chief arguments used by Mr. Fessenden in the majority report, and presents some points which we do not recollect to have seen before. All its reasoning could not, of course, be new, unless it failed to touch on many of the strongest points

of the argument, and it was necessary that such a replication should be full and comprehensive. a replication should be full and comprehensive.

The minority vigorously combat the skulking assertion of the majority that the question whether the Southern States are constitutionally in or out of the Union is a "profitless abstraction." This is the pivot of the whole controversy. Why is New York entitled to representation, and Colorado not? For no other presentation, and Colorado not? reason in the world than because Colorado is not a State in the Union, and New York is. That each State is entitled to two Senators and to as many Representatives as correspond to its population, is expressly declared in the Constitution itself. When the majority call the question of their statehood a "profitless abstrac-tion," they practise a subterfuge to evade an

ment by which Tennessee and the rest are proved to be States is unanswerable; and this point established, the rest is merely a question whether the Constitution shall be obeyed. Mr. Fessenden shirked this point, because there was no possibility of successfully meeting it.

A great handle is made in the majority report of the idea that the Rebels were belligerent enemies. "Shall we admit public enemies into Congress to legislate for us?" is the burden of their appeal. This clap trap keeps itself in countenance by the judicial decision, made in the prize cases, that the Confederates were bel-ligerents. Mr. Johnson shows very clearly that the bearing of that decision has been mis-conceived. It hinged on the rights of third parties; its purpose was to show that we pos-sessed such rights of war as justified us in capturing the spips and property of the subjects o foreign governments. As between us and foreign States, it was war; as between our Gov ernment and its own citizens, it was an insur-Mr. Lincoln's proclamations were made, and troops called out, under the law for suppressing insurrections.

But even granting that, as between us and the Rebels, the South stood in the position of allen enemies, belligerent rights could not outlast the When one nation conquers another, it ac quires over it rights of sovereignty. It thence-forward governs the subjugated people, not as a belligerent, but as a sovereign. But a nation which tights for the recovery of a portion of its own territory, merely recovers such rights of sove-reighty as it previously possessed, and no other, It only regains, in tact, the same jurisdiction it always possessed in right. But the measure of this jurisdiction, under our Government, is the Constitution; its extent is precisely what the Constitution defined it to be previous to the war; precisely what was legally exercised over the

other States during the war.
With regard to the present disposition of the Southern people, and their fitness to exercise their constitutional rights, the innority quote at length the affirmative and unimpeachable tes

timony of General Grant. The minority triumphantly prove the absence of danger from the plan of the Committee itself --an argument which is very neatly put. The danger against which we tought in the late war was secession; and the majority of the Commit-tee, in their report, fall into much heated declamation on the continued prevalence of the secession theory at the South. Welt! in view of this danger, what have the Committee done The fit thing to do, the remedy which would exactly meet the case, would be an amendment of the Constitution denying the right of seces-sion. This would settle that point; it would drive the nail and clinch it. But among the mul titudinous amendments to the Constitution proposed by Republicans during the winter, an amendment denying the right of secession Las not been thought needful. This is a conclusive proof that the Republicans, like everybody else, see that all danger from this source has ceased. But it there is no further danger from secession, why dishonestly pretend that there is? And if secession is an exploded chimera, pray what is the peril against which Congress thinks it necessary to provide!

is pretended there is danger that the Federal debt will not be paid, and that the Rebel war debt will be paid; and the plan of the Committee embraces a Constitutional amendment to secure the one and to prevent the other. But if this amendment is offered in good fath, why, in the name of reason, is it so lumped and mixed with other amendments not related to it, that the State: cannot racify it without, at the same time, racifying things which they di-approve and detest? Heretofore, amendments to the Constitution have always been presented in such a manner that they could be acted upon separately, approving the ones they liked and refusing to railry such as they condemned. The amend-ment relating to the two war debts would, if presented alone, be unanimously ratified by the whole thirty-six States, without discussion or delay. Why was not an opportunity given them to do so, without renouncing a part of taelr right to representation? It looks as if Congress had determined, by offering the proposed amend-ments in the lump, that the South should reject them all, intending thereaster to raise a dishonest cry that the Southern States refused to repudiate the Confederate debt.

Besides the danger that the Rebel debt will be paid, and the Federal debt repudiated, Congress find another great danger which they think it necessary to guard against by an amendment to the Constitution. That danger is-well, what is why it is the dreadful danger that the States will have the same number of Representatives to which the Constitution, as it stands, declares them entitled. In other words, the Constitution s too dangerous an instrument to be permitted to be in operation till certain leading provisions are amended out of it.

## The Excluded States-The Enabling Act Before Congress.

From the Herald. On Monday last, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Bingham, of Onio, submitted a resolution, which was adopted, requesting the

President to transmit forthwith to the Governors of the several States the Constitutional amendment which has passed both branches of Con' gress respecting citizenship, suffrage as the basis of representation, Rebel disqualifications for office, the sacredness of the national debt, the repudiation of all Rebel debts and all claims for slaves, etc. A compliance with this resolution being only an act of official courtesy, of course the President will comply. Indeed, before the resolution was offered, he had officially an-nounced, through the State Department, the action of Congress on this amendment as com-

So far, then, this business of reconstruction is transferred from Congress and the Administration to the States and the people. But this amendment is only the corner-stone of the Congressional plan, or the beginning of the work. The regular order of the day on Monday last in the House was a bill from the Committee of Fifteen providing for the restoration of the States lately in insurrection to their full political rights. The reporter concerned does not give us hint of the details of the bilt; but we take it to be the enabling act, which provides that when this amendment shall have become part of the Constitution, and when any one of the States implicated in the late Rebellion shall have not only ratified this amendment, but modified its ocal laws accordingly, the members to Congress from such States, if duly elected and qualified, shall be admitted; and, furthermore, that the State miniling these conditions shall have a credit of ten years in reference to its quota of the national debt on the presentation of satisfac-tory securities to the Secretary of the Treasury in view of payment when due

Now the question recurs, about what time may we expect Tennessee, for instance, to be reinstated in Congress under this enabling act The amendment in question must first be ratified by three fourths of the States, including Tennes e; and the State Legislature must then revise all its local laws in conformity with this afore said amendment, excluding Rebels from office, among other things, subject to absolution, by a two-thirds vote of Congress, and putting whites and blacks upon a footing of perfect equality under the State authority, etc. This is a process of purification as by fire and weter which will not be finished this side the coming Presidential election. The object of the bill is evidently a job of work which will keep out of Congress and our Federal elections all the now excluded States until after the settlement of the question of the next Presidency and the Congress to be elected at the same time. This point secured, the admission of the excluded States may be delayed and put off for two or three, or ten or longer, according to the cenve-

twenty years longer, according to the convenience of the dominant party.

There is no guarantee in this bill that the States directly concerned will ever be restored under its operation to their full political rights. It is a device of the party in power to retain its power by the continued exclusion from the Government of the States which might turn the scale. But this thing must come to an end some day, or the Government itself will cease to exist as that of a republic. We cannot under-take the indefinite exclusion and alienation of argument they are unable to meet. The argu- I eleven States of the Union from the national

councils without hazarding the gravest conse-quences. Nor is there any other way of super-their side. This has been true of every revoquences. Nor is there any other way of super-seding this plan and the party proposing it than through the elections for the next Congress; but the remedy is simple enough, and may be made effective. Let the people of the North who desire a practical restoration of the Union without further pretexts and expedients of delay, and who are anxious to see law and order, conndence and industry, commerce and prosperity restored over the South, take their ground for a new Congress of new men and conservative principles, and the game is in their hands. Republican candidates for Governors may be worthy patriots and popular men; Republican constitutional amendments and pintforms may be all well enough in their way; but these things should not divert the public attention from the main question—the elections of the coming fall for the next Congress.

The real issue, we say, carried over as it may be with disguise, will still continue the same—the indefinite exclusion or speedy restoration to a voice in the Government of the eleven Southern States rescued by fire and sword from a suic dal ebellion. They have laid down their arms, they have met the conditions prescribed by President Johnson—substantially the policy of this amendment from Congress—they are trying to prove their loyalty to the Union by their good works, and if they cannot all at once be relieved of their prejudices in regard to the black man, and be made to embrace him as an equal and a brother, they are still entitled to some indul-gence. The white men at the North, equally esponsible for all the sins of negro slavery, in sciting it up as a political idol with the creation of the Government, have no right to pass a

idement on this account against the South. For this blunder, which was worse than the crime, the North and the South have paid the cenalty of the bloodiest civil war in the history of the human family. Now, this great stumb-ling block of Southern slavery being removed, with all its pernicious and ferocious influences upon the body politic, what we have to tear from the despoiled, disarmed, prostrate, and poverty-stricken people of the South? They are powerless for any further mischief; but they may, with a little encouragement, greatly assist us of the North in the payment of our national debt. Let nonest, patriotic Northern men consider all these things in making up their tickets for the next Congress.

#### State Governments in the Confederacy During the War. From the Daily News.

It is a favorite assertion of the radicals that the Southern States had not, during the war and at its close, any civil government, and that the pseudo-governments which were in existence there were not republican in form. This idea crops out in the report of the Obstruction Committee in such expressions as these:- "They were in a state of complete anarchy, without government;" they were in an abnormal condition, without civil government," etc. This, as a statement, is false; and, as an argument, is fallacious. Secession made no change whatever in the Constitution of the several Southern States, and their government machinery worked as smoothly as it ever had done. The Constitution, government, and law of South Carolina, for example, were, in 1864, precisely what they were in 1854, and what they had been for more than three-quarters of a century. It South Carolina had no civil government in 1864, then she never had a civil government; it her government was not republican at that date, then her govern ment never was republican.

It A. G. Magrath was not the lawful Governor of South Carolina, duly elected under the pro-visions of the Constitution, then South Carolina never had a lawful Governor, and the list of worthies whom the State has honored by elevating to the chief magistracy is simply a list of usurpers. It the South was, for a time, in a state of anarchy, after the surrender of General Johnston, it was because the Governments were struck down by the mailed hand or the United States, the Legislatures forbidden to a-semble, and the Governors and other officers of the State incarcerated. Upon this state of facts to make the non-existence of established governments the pretext for charging that the States themselves had destroyed those governments by the act of secession, is to insult the common sense or mankind. And if no better argument can be found to justify the refusal to acknowledge those governments, their successors will inevitably be characterized in history as mere usurpations,

## Jefferson Davis' Sincerity.

Dr. Craven, the post surgeon at Fortress Monroe, has fallen a victim to the prevalent mania for book-making, and has produced a full, true, and particular account of Jefferson Davis' behavior since his committal to that stronghold. The doctor informs the world with much earnestness that he has always been a Union man and an anti-slavery man, and that, if his work displays sympathy with the prisoner, it must not be inferred that he has, or has ever had, the smallest sympathy with secession. In other words, like a true Christian, he bates the sin while loving and commiserating the sinner. He also protests strongly that he has in no line committed the smallest violation of professional confidence. Whatever Mr. Davis told him as his medical adviser shall descend with him to the tomb; but everything else about the unfortunate man, his feelings, his tancies, his chaerins, hi weakensses, his opinions, his habits, all the petty acts of his life, from his pulling on his stockings in the morning to the putting out of his candle at night, that a vigilant and minute observer could catch and write down from day to day, may be learned of Dr. Craven for the small sum of one dollar and a quarter.

If Mr. Davis is satisfied with the volume no-body clse has a right to complain: but it he is, both he and Dr. Craven must at least have the decency not to claim credit for much delicacy of feeling. If the book have any object beyond the turning of an honest penny, and we are bound in courtesy to suppose that it has, it is to excite the sympathy of the public for the prisoner, and prepare the way for general acqui escence either in his pardon or in his acquittal after a sham trial. That, it will be partially sac cessful we have no doubt, and that any effort in this direction meets with the highest official approval we have just as little doubt. There have been several indications of late of a sneaking desire on the part of those who have him it custody to turn him loose, it a reasonable pre-text could be found for doing so; and it would be difficult to find a better mode of reconciling the country to seeing him back in Mississippi than the publication of such a record of his suf-

crings and thinkings as Dr. Craven's.
There is nothing in the volume more striking or able, or more artful, than Mr. Davis' dennition of the struggle in which he figured so promi nently. He now declares the war to have been merely a rough and painful, but inevitable mode of deciding a difference of opinion, honest on both sides, between the North and South, as to the structure of the Government, deciares that he always so regarded it, and therefore did his best to prevent the infusion of unnecessary bitterness into it. As to the value of this as a statement of facts, we will only say that many of Mr. Davis' speeches during the halcyon days

of the Confederacy furnish a strange commen tary upon it. What concerns us most to know is not whether the secessionist leaders were honest in thinking they had the right to secede, but whether they were justified in resorting to arms in assertion of it. This is the real question in all cases of treason. We doubt if treason, in the sense of levying war on an established government, has ever been committed by men who might not fairly claim credit for an honest belief in the instice of their cause. Treasonable attempts on the lives of sovereigns or ministers of state have, of course, as often been made by knavish conspirators as by honest fanatics; but we doubt whether there has ever been a rising in arms, on a considerable scale, for the purpose of overthrowing a government, in which great body of the insurgents were not thoroughly

The second of th

lution or attempt at revolution that has ever occurred in Europe. Men in civilized countries are not so fond of disorder and turbulence, do not reck so little of the horrors of civil war, as to take arms in mere wantonness, and imperil their lives and fortunes for the sake of a little excitement. And when our Constitution made fresson a crime it undoubtedly con-templated the possibility of large bodies of men becoming distatisfied with the Government, and attempting to overthrow it for some reason

that might seem to them good.

Nobody doubts that Jefferson Davis believed bonestly in the right of secession. There was no law against his doing so. There is no law against siny man's doing so. Nobody but an Eastern tyrant would seek to prevent a man's helding any theory of the nature of the Government he pleases. You may, even in St. Petersburg, hold the Emperor to be either a despot, a constitutional monarch, a pope, or a usurper; you pay your taxes and choose your own view of the character of those who receive them, Any Hungarian in Austria may consider Franci Joseph merits dethronement, and any legitimist in Paris may be as satisfied as he pleases that Louis Napoleon is a robber, and that Henry V ought to be on the throne. But in none of these cases would anybody be allowed to enforce his opinions with the sword. It is in this resort to arms that treason consists. There is no moral or legal guitt in holding the Calhoun doctrine or State rights; but there is moral and legal guilt in attempting to put it into practice by

What Mr. Davis and his fellows ask us to do is to treat everybody who chooses to get up a rebell on, and gives some plausible reason for it. as an honest fellow, only a little mistaken. What would be have said to this plea if put orward on behalf of John Brown? honest? Was not his difference of opinion with the charlatan who was then Governor of Virgenta, and who now flaunts his treason in our faces with perfect impunity, as to the constitu-tion of Southern society, just as sincere as Mr. Davis' on the right of secession? But was that held by Southern lawyers to be any justification of his rising? No society could hold together for ten years which tolerated a doctrine so mon-strous. No government is worthy of the name which is compelled to inquire into the motives of those who seek to destroy it before punishing them; and to suppose that the framers of the Constitution, white defining treason, left it to each citizen to decide when his commission of it was justinable, is to accuse them of having mserted a sorry joke in the most solemn and important state paper in history.

If Jetlerson Davis is punished—and we trust he will be—it will be not to gratify any personal hatred for him, but to prevent others like him from ever again trying to put theories of gov ernment into practice by force of arms, as long as the press is free and the ballot-nox open. s in having done this that his crime consists. We care nothing about his theories. All we know is that he killed two hundred thousand men, and covered the land with desolation, in trying to put an end to the Union. He may have been directed to do this in a vision, or may have come to it by reading his Bible; but it is enough for us to know that to admit sincerity as an excuse for it, would place the lives and fortunes of the community at the mercy of its knaves and tools.

There is one other reason which is, in our minds, hardly less cogent. We have filled the whole earth for the last four years with denunciations of the moral guilt of the Rebellion. We have dinned into everybody's ears without ceasing that the secessionist leaders were designing knaves, that their crime was the greatest crime and our cause the holiest cause in history. We owe it to our own character, therefore, and to the moral sense of our own people not to let these men go unwhipped of justice. Either the war as conducted by us was a great outrage on human rights, or those who began it deserve some worse fate than defeat—deserve from us some solemn, emphatic, and judicial indication of our estimate of their guilt.

We know of nothing that tends more to blunt people's sense of right and wrong, and foster that growing indifference to the moral aspect of offenses against the law, which we dignity with the name of good nature, that to nunt men down for four years with pravers, and tears, and exe-crations, shedding our best blood in our efforts to catch them, for having committed the foulest of offenses, and having caught them, to laugh with them over the chase and send them back to their homes. There are people who see something sublime in our horror of crime, and in our growing disposition to let criminals go on iree. We see in it nothing but an excessive re action from the blind severity of a past age, the growth of an effeminacy which makes many good men doubt whether a Christian commonwealth be possible.

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Those of "OUR OWN MAKE" are superior in finis and durability to any other Skirts made, and warrante Skirts made to order, attered, and repaired. 245

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520S .- FIVE TWENTIES.

7'30s -SEVEN-THIRTIES

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A perfect system of sewerage and drainage has been completed, a reature possessed by few hotels outside of The appointments of the House throughout have received a most careful supervision, suggested by the experience of nast seasons. For apartments, address J. F. CARE, Congress Hail.

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particularly being a property and the property and the particular and

6 18 lm

L OST-THE CERTIFICATE NO. 1221, ISsued by the City of Philadelphia (old) to provide for the subscription to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's stock, oated September 27, 1853 for one thousand dollars, psyable to John Garth Bodgson, of Preston, Lancashire, Encland, and Brey Sharp, of London, England, trustees, hearing interest at six per cent, per annum. Hedecumble July 1 1882.

LOST.